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CADILLAC and the Founding of DETROIT



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Dramatis Personae

D'Auteuil, Ruelle: Procurer-general of the High Council in France.

Baudry de Lamarche, Jacques: A Parisian, born in September, 1676. He purchased Cadillac's property rights in Detroit, but his claims were challenged by Rigaud and de Tonti. He served as an attorney in France. He died sometime after 1738.

Beauharnais: Three brothers of this family served in New France. François de Beauharnais, born in 1665, was appointed intendant of New France April 1, 1702. He held this position until he returned to France in 1705; he died in 1746. Charles served as governor-general, and the third brother, born in 1674, was named Claude.

Bienville, Jean Baptiste le Moyne, sieur de: Born in February, 1680. Served on and off as governor of the colony of Louisiana between 1706 and 1740. He died March 7, 1768, in France.

De Bourgmont: Replaced de Tonti as lieutenant to Cadillac at Detroit, 1706, for a short period.

Bouvard, Father Martin (Samuel): A Jesuit, born in Chartres, France, in August 15, 1637, he came to serve in New France on September 30, 1673, eventually becoming superior of the Jesuit mission in the New World. He died in Quebec, August 10, 1705.

Callière, Louis Hector de (sometimes: Callières): Born 1646, he came to Canada to serve as governor of Montreal; later, in 1699, he succeeded Frontenac as governor-general of New France, holding the post until his death in Quebec in 1703.

Carheil, Father Etienne de: Born in France, November, 1633, he received his ordination before coming to Quebec in 1666. He served the Iroquois mission at Cayuga, and then at Michilimackinac from 1687 to 1703. He died in Quebec July 27, 1726.

Chambalon, Louis: Merchant and notary of Quebec, born about 1663, he came to Canada in 1688; died in Quebec, June 15, 1716.

Champigny, Jean Bochart de: Born about 1659, he served as intendant of Canada from 1686 to 1702. He hoped to succeed Frontenac in 1698, but Callière received the appointment as governor-general. He returned to France where he died on September 27, 1720.

Clairambault d'Aigremont, François: He was baptized in France on March 26, 1659; posted as naval commissary at Quebec on September 4, 1701. Pontchartrain recommended him to the intendant Jacques Raudot as an inspector of the western posts which he undertook between June and November, 1708. He became intendant in 1711, holding the post for about a year. He died in Quebec, December 1, 1728.

Dauphin de la Forest, François: Born in Paris about 1649. He served under La Salle at Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario). He came to Detroit in 1705 on Cadillac's recommendation and assumed command of Detroit when Cadillac left. He died in Quebec on October 15, 1714.

Delhalle (de la Halle), Father Bernard Constantin: The parish priest who accompanied Cadillac to Detroit in July, 1701, and founded the church of Ste. Anne at the new post of Detroit. He was slain on July 2, 1706, perhaps accidentally, by an Ottawa bullet in an Indian skirmish, and was buried in his parish grounds.

Deniau, Father Cherubin: He began his seminary studies with the Sulpicians, but was not ordained until five years later in Quebec on December 3, 1700. He arrived in Detroit in August, 1706, to assist Father de la Marche.

Denonville, Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de: Born in France, he served thirty years in the military before being appointed governor-general of Canada in 1685. A misguided act in 1687 precipitated an unsuccessful war with the Iroquois, forcing him into a humiliating peace treaty in 1688, and his recall to France the next year. He died in 1710.

Dollier de Casson, François: Born in France in 1636, he began his career in the cavalry where he served as captain. He later became a Sulpician missionary and in that role came to Canada in 1666. In 1670, with Father René Brehant de Galinée, he journeyed up the Detroit River and stepped ashore at present-day Detroit someplace between the Rouge River and Fort Wayne. He became Superior of the Montreal mission in 1671, and died on September 25, 1701.

Dugay (Dugué), Jacques: One of the two lieutenants who accompanied Cadillac and de Tonti to Detroit in 1701.

Dulhud (Dulhut), Greyelson: He had been proposed by Denonville in 1686 to found a settlement on the straits between Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair.

Durantaye de l'Espinay (Epinay): Acted as commandant to the Ottawa in 1686.

Enjalran, Father Jean: A Jesuit missionary, born in France on October 10, 1639. Arriving in Quebec, July 22, 1676, he was sent to the St. Ignace mission. He vigorously opposed Cadillac's plan to have the Ottawas and Hurons of St. Ignace resettled in Detroit. He left Canada in August 1702. He died on February 18, 1718 in France.

Franquelin, Jean Baptiste Louis: A cartographer, born in France about 1651, he went to Canada in 1671. With Cadillac, aboard the *Envieux*, he scouted for the French along the coast of New England and went on with

Cadillac to Paris in 1692. The last records of him alive date from France, 1712.

Frontenac, Louis de Baude, Comte de Palluau et de: Born 1620, he died without a surviving child in Quebec on November 28, 1698. He served two terms as governor-general of New France, 1672 to 1682 and 1689 to his death. His disputes with his intendants and with the clergy were responsible for his first recall from office.

Galinée, Father René de Bréhaut de: Born in Brittany, he came to Canada as a Sulpician missionary. He and Father Dollier de Casson began an expedition with La Salle in 1669, but were left on the north shore of Lake Erie. He drew one of the earliest maps of the Great Lakes, and eventually retired to Europe where he died August 15, 1678.

Garnier, Father Charles: One of the first Jesuit missionaries in Michigan, he may have traveled near the Detroit area in 1639. He was killed by the Iroquois when they destroyed the St. Jean Mission, and was canonized in 1930.

Guyon, François: Cadillac engaged in shipping, perhaps privateering, with him in 1687. Probably the uncle of Cadillac's wife.

Guyon, Marie-Thérèse: Wife of Cadillac; daughter of Denis Guyon and Elizabeth Boucher.

La Porte de Louvigny, Louis de: Born in France about 1662, he was appointed commandant of Michilimackinac in 1689. When he returned to France, Cadillac replaced him at that post. Lost at sea August 27, 1725.

Laumet, Antoine: Original name of Cadillac before he assumed the name of Lamothe Cadillac.

Law, John: Scotsman born in 1671; noted economist and financial genius; friend of the regent, the Duke of Orleans; and founder of the French Banque Générale and the Company of the West (Louisiana Company). He triggered a period of inflation; his schemes for the New World exploded as the "Mississippi Bubble" in 1720, forcing him to flee to Italy. Died in 1729.

Lespinay, Jean Michel de: He arrived in Canada in 1687 and was appointed governor of Louisiana following Cadillac on March 12, 1716, perhaps due to his friendship with the financier Crozat. He died in Martinique on January 3, 1721.

Marest, Father Joseph Jacques: Born in France on March 19, 1653, he served as a Jesuit missionary after his arrival in Canada about 1686. Assigned to Michilimackinac in 1688, he argued with Cadillac over the trading of brandy to the Indians.

Meéneval, Louis Alexandre de Friches, Chevalier de: He served as governor of Acadia from 1687 until his surrender to the English in 1690, after which he was sent to England as a prisoner. He died in France in 1709.

Dramatis Personae

Parent, Joseph: Born January 27, 1669, in Quebec. Although it had been thought that he had settled in the area of the future Detroit prior to Cadillac, evidence indicates that he arrived circa 1705 or thereafter.

Péchagut: Family name of Cadillac's mother.

Pontchartrain, Jérôme Phélypeaux, Comte de: Born 1674, he was one of the many public officials of the Phélypeaux family that rose to high office. He served as secretary of state, Department of the Marine, from 1699 until 1715 when he was forced out of office. He died in 1747.

Ramezay, Claude de: Born in 1657, he came to Canada in 1685 and was appointed governor of Montreal May 15, 1704. He was the administrator of New France from 1714 to 1716, dying in Montreal on August 1, 1724.

Raudot, Antoine Denis: Born in 1679, he served as inspector-general of the Marine, administrator of Louisiana, and intendant of New France from 1705 to 1710. He died at Versailles, July 28, 1737.

Raudot, Jacques: Brother of Antoine Denis, born 1647 and died 1728.

Renaud Dubuisson, Jacques Charles: Born in Paris in 1666, he came to Canada in 1685-86. He was appointed interim commandant of Detroit on September 10, 1710, to succeed Cadillac until Dauphin de la Forest, who was ill, was able to take over. Cadillac's continued presence in Detroit after he was relieved caused considerable friction, but Renaud held the post until the summer of 1715. He died at Trois-Rivières in 1739.

Roy, Pierre: A Detroit resident with his Indian wife circa 1702-3. He is sometimes claimed as having lived in the Detroit area before Cadillac's arrival.

Tonti (Tonty), Alphonse de: Second-in-command at Detroit, which he helped to found with Cadillac.

Vaillant de Gueslis, Father François: Born on July 20, 1646, in France, he came to Quebec in 1670 and five years later was inducted into the priesthood. As a Jesuit missionary, he set up the Indian mission in Detroit in 1701, and soon left because of conflict with Cadillac. He returned to France in 1717, where he died the following year on September 24.

Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de: Born in 1643, he arrived in New France in 1687 as commander of the French troops, and was later appointed governor of Montreal in 1698. On the death of Callière, he became the administrator of the government of Canada, then lieutenant-

I already had the honor to mention to you, my lord, in my letter of August 6, that I had dispatched, on the 4th of June, the sieurs Lamothe, de Tonti, Dugué, and Charconacle . . .

(Margry, *MetD*)

Extract from letter of Governor Callière, October 4, 1701.

Srs. de Lamothe and de Tonti, captains, Dugué and Charconacle, lieutenants on half-pay, departed the beginning of last June with 100 men, soldiers, and voyageurs, in 25 canoes loaded with provisions, merchandise, arms and tools, in order to build the settlement of the straits . . .

The Recollects Father who was to serve as chaplain of the post was perhaps the Father Constantin Delhalle who died in Detroit. His first stay in Detroit must have been of very short duration for a baptismal record shows him officiating near Quebec between November 15, 1701 and June 5, 1702.

(Paré, *Church*)

Cadillac's route: from Montreal, up the Ottawa River, across to Lake Nipissing, through that lake and down the French and Pickerele Rivers, to Georgian Bay and across to Lake Huron, skirting the eastern shore, to Lake St. Clair through the Detroit River, to Grosse Ile.

The great canoes glided silently by the densely wooded islands where Lake St. Clair narrows into the beautiful straits. Cadillac looked about him and was pleased. He studied the lay of the land on both sides of the river, looking for the best site for his fort. Down river as far as Grosse Ile they went and there they spent the night—an encampment for which all loyal Grosse Iliers ever since have been incontinently proud, since it permitted them to say that Cadillac landed there before he landed at Detroit.

(Stark, *City*)

The Annals of Cadillac

June 4-5—Cadillac departs Montreal with 25 canoes, bringing his son Antoine (b. 4-26-92) with him. With 50 soldiers, 50 voyageurs and settlers, and about 100 friendly Indians, he brings his second in command de Tonti, two lieutenants, the Jesuit Father François Vaillant de Gueslis and Father Bernard Constantin Delhalle of the Recollects.

July 23—The expedition arrives on Grosse Ile after traveling approximately 600 miles with 30 portages.

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(Stark, City)

In the morning they came back up the stream, hugging the shore. Cadillac noted that the narrowest part of the river was faced on either side by a bluff about 40 feet high. This presented a dilemma: on which side to plant the fortified town that was to guard this strait; which side offered the best defensive possibilities. Observing the north side of the river, he saw that the bluff ended abruptly at its western end in a round-topped hill and around the foot of this hill poured the waters of a small river. The hill stood near the present foot of First Street and the small river, later known as the Savoyard, emptied into the Detroit River, near the present line of Third Street. Above its mouth, the Savoyard ran for some distance parallel to the Detroit River following a course that would approximate Larned and Congress streets. To the east of Woodward Avenue, its course turned abruptly north, crossing the site of the present Wayne County Building. The parallel course of the two rivers created a narrow peninsula of high ground, fairly level at the top and heavily timbered.

(Stark, City)

July 23—The expedition arrives on Grosse Ile after traveling approximately 600 miles with 30 portages.

July 24—Cadillac and his company leave Grosse Ile and return back upstream to the narrowest point in the river. He claims the land in the name of the King and begins to build Fort Pontchartrain, Ville de Troit.

The canoes landed near where Veteran's Memorial Building now stands Between the Detroit River and the Savoyard was a curving and rather flat topped hill; this is where Cadillac built the new fort.

North of the Savoyard River, where the large buildings of downtown Detroit now stand, lay the forest which stretched on toward the Straits of Mackinac. West of the camp the land dipped, just as it does today, to where Savoyard emptied into the Detroit River, and beyond lay a marshy strip of land which has since been filled in and forms the railroad yard along the river [i.e., now the Renaissance Center].

South of the camp flowed the River, less than a mile wide here. To the east of the camp could be seen Belle Isle. The log palisade was erected and named in honor of Count Pontchartrain. First called Ville de Troit, Village of the Straits, the ville was soon dropped.

From the records that have come down to us we can locate it generally as follows:

As one walked up from the river, whose shore then ran along where Atwater Street now is, he came to the wall of the settlement. The wall enclosed an area from about Woodbridge Street on the south to about Larned Street on the north, and from Griswold Street on the east to Wayne Street on the west.

(Lewis, *Detroit*)

Extract from a letter written by Gov. Callière, October 4, 1701.

Le sieur de Charconacle has returned with five men from Détroit carrying letters from sieurs Lamothe and de Tonti. The former tells us that he arrived with his entire company in good health on the 24th of July at the mouth of this river and that after investigating the area for the best location, he has built a fort composed of four bastions of oak piles fifteen feet long, embedded in the ground some three feet. Each curtain wall is thirty fathoms long. He has positioned his fort three leagues from Lake Erie and two from Lake Sainte Claire at the narrowest part of the river, west south-west. He first built a warehouse to store his goods and has begun work on the necessary dwellings, still in progress. He must keep almost everybody working to be done by winter.

(Margry, *MetD*)

Inside the stockade were the little oak buildings of the settlement . . . Ste. Anne's church, the warehouse where the furs were stored, and the log houses of the soldiers and settlers. All the buildings were one story high . . . made of logs set upright in the ground, but Ste. Anne's Church and the warehouse might have been built with logs lying on their side. The roofs were made from bark and thatched with straw or grass. The streets of the village ran east and west or north and south, and except for Ste. Anne were about ten feet wide. Ste. Anne Street, which was the main street, was about twenty feet wide. It ran about where Jefferson Avenue now is.

(freely taken from Lewis, *Detroit*)

By September 1, the site of the first settlement was all enclosed. It had an area less than 37 acres and during the next century of its existence, it expanded to less than a square mile.

The original stockade boasted three massive gates of timber. One looked toward the west, another toward the east, and the third toward the big river. The Indians gathered from far and near to build their little village in the shadow of the white man's town. They were Ottawas, Hurons, Pottawatamies, Miamis and Wyandottes. Peace reigned in this first year of the white man's occupancy.

(Stark, *City*)

The little village enclosure prepared by Cadillac in 1701 for the protection of his colony, covered a square arpent of land. An arpent, the French measure of that time, was one hundred and ninety-two feet and nine inches, so that the original village was in the form of a square, each side of which was that distance in English feet.

(Burton, *Building*)

Writes Cadillac in 1702:

You will see appended the plan of Fort Pontchartrain which I have built at Detroit The walls are of good timber, white oak, which is as hard and heavy as iron. This fort is in no danger provided there are enough people here to defend it.

Its position is delightful and advantageous; it is at the narrowest part of the river, where no one can pass by day without being seen

(Margry, *MetD*)

From Cadillac to MM. Callière and Champigny, October 8, 1701.

The art of war is not the same as that of writing. Lacking the latter skill, I draw a portrait of a land worthy of a better pen than mine; but because you ordered me to provide a report, I do so by telling you that Detroit is literally only a channel or a river of moderate breadth, twenty-five leagues long, according to my estimate, running NNE and SSW 41 degrees, through which slowly flow and slip away in a moderate current the lively and crystalline waters of the lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron—which are so many seas of sweet water—into Lake Erie and Lake Ontario or Frontenac, and then finally mix with the waters of the St. Lawrence River to mingle with those of the ocean.

Its banks are so many broad meadows whose grass is kept forever green by the freshness of those lovely waters. These prairies are bordered with long, broad lanes of fruit trees which have never felt the careful hand of the vigilant gardener, and, thus, under the weight of their abundant fruit they give way, and bend their branches toward the fertile ground that produced them. It is in this fertile land that the ambitious vine, never having wept under the knife of the industrious vintner, spreads a thick roof of broad leaves and heavy grape clusters, topping the woods to which it clings, often suffocating it in this tight embrace.



23. The arrival of Mme. Cadillac and Mme. de Tonti (Anne Picoté de Belestre) at Fort Pontchartrain in 1702. Mural by Gari Melchers (1860-1932). (In the Detroit Public Library)

In these wide forest avenues gather hundreds of timid stags and nervous hinds, with the bounding roebuck picking up the apples and plums that pave the ground. Here the anxious turkey calls, and calls again, leading her large brood to eat the grapes. And here also are the tom turkeys filling their large and ravenous crops. Golden pheasants, quail, partridge, woodcock, and turtle dove abound in the woods and cover the fields that are mottled by the branches of lofty trees, making a lovely picture that soothes any feelings of melancholy loneliness of the solitude. The hand of the pitiless reaper has never mown here the succulent grasses that fatten the great and heavy herds.

There are ten varieties of trees, among which are walnut, red and white oak, ash, spruce or white wood, and cottonwood. They grow straight as arrows, without knots, almost without branches except at the top, and they are of prodigious size. From them the courageous eagle looks fixedly at the sun, while at his feet is sufficient to gratify his bold, armed claws. The fish are fed and bathed in the clear crystal waters; their great numbers make them no less delicious. Swans are in such profusion that they might be taken for the lily rushes in which they gather. The chattering goose, the duck, the teal, and the bustard are so numerous that I must use the expression of an Indian whom I asked, before coming here, if there was much feathered game. "There is so much," he said, "that they have to open a way in order for the canoes to pass."

Can one believe that such a place, where nature has given so much with such order, will not yield to the worker who caresses its fertile body all that is desired?

In a word, the climate is temperate; the air purified during the day is a gentle breeze at night; the sky is forever serene, spreading sweet and fresh influences that grant the gentle favor of tranquil sleep.

If the location is agreeable, it is none-the-less important, for it opens and closes on the passage to the most distant nations on the banks of the broad seas of sweet water. Only the enemies of truth could be enemies of this establishment, so necessary to augment the glory of the King, the progress of religion, and the destruction of the throne of Baal.

(Margry, *MetD*)

Tradition is that St. Anne's chapel was completed in two days, in time to celebrate her Feast day on July 26. Probably a shelter was erected but not a regular chapel. The term "Parish of St. Anne" appears in the registers for the first time July 17, 1722.

A church and a dwelling were built for the chaplain, Fr. Delhalle, where we do not know. The succeeding parish buildings as well as the cemetery were always at the southeastern corner of the enclosure, corresponding roughly to the center of Jefferson Avenue between Griswold and Shelby.

(Paré, *Church*)

On August 31 Cadillac writes to Pontchartrain that,

1) the fort will stand against any English or Iroquois advances;

2) he needs more soldiers;

3) Fr. Vaillant is working at cross-purposes to him;

4) some missionaries and their support should be sent as necessary to the establishment of the post;

5) he needs more boats for the transport of produce to Montreal.

Pontchartrain replies, in part:

Act in such a manner that the Jesuits become your friends and do not hurt them . . . His Majesty wants the missions around Detroit to be taken care of by the Jesuits.

(Margry, *MetD*)

Cadillac on the Indian Settlements, September 1702

At a good distance to the right of the fort there is a Huron village to which I have granted lands in the name of His Majesty. I myself have planted the boundary markers and marked where I want them to make their fort and village. By this move I have placed all tribes in the position of asking me for land and for permission to settle here. There is also, to the left of the fort, a village of Oppenago, that is to say, of Wolves, to whom I have also granted lands on the condition that they will surrender them to me, if I later need them, in return for lands farther away; the place where they are might serve for a township some day. Above this village, a half-league further up, there is a village containing four tribes of Ottawas to whom I have likewise granted land so that in the space of a league there are four forts and, excluding the garrison, around 400 men bearing arms along with their families.

(Toujas, *Destin*)

Extract of a letter from Fr. Enjalran to Cadillac, dated August 30, 1701. I met Mme. de Lamothe who is quite set on coming to see you in Detroit. I should be very happy if the plan to send me in your direction allows me to accompany her. The great importance of the mission at the post you want to establish cannot be decided until steps have been taken for other missions, for the entire Upper Country needs reorganization . . . I might yet see you before winter, and I would be very happy to support you in your glorious undertaking . . .

(Margry, *MetD*)

Approximate vicinity 1701-2.

October 1701. Any of C. rights in drawn. Quebec. Thus Ca. at the ne

1702

Spring-Detroit v. Alphons

Mme. Cadillac travels via Lake Ontario, crossed at Niagara to Lake Erie, and then on to Detroit. Writes Cadillac,

Last year, my wife and Mme. Tonti set out on the 10th of September with our families to come and join us here. Their resolution in undertaking so long and laborious a journey seemed very extraordinary. It is certain that nothing astonished the Iroquois so greatly as when they saw them. You could not believe how many caresses they offered them, and particularly the Iroquois, who kissed their hands and wept for joy, saying that Frenchwomen had never been seen coming willingly to their country

Was Cadillac the First to Found Detroit?

There is one . . . subject of interest on which I desire to add a few answers

to the oft repeated question of "Who was the first white man at Detroit?" Not who were the first persons passing through the strait, but who first landed at Detroit with a determination to make that place his future home? This question would not have arisen except for statements in some of the earlier Michigan histories, which challenge that Pierre Roy and Joseph Parent were located at Detroit before Cadillac came. I believe the statement has no foundation in fact, and I will try to prove its untruth.

Cadillac asserts, in one of his early letters, that no one had ever visited this part of the country before. He certainly would not have made such a statement if two men were then living there, for he knew these men, as they were both members of his colony. Pierre Roy married an Indian woman. I take it for granted that he married her within a short time after first meeting her and that he brought her to the village as soon as they were married. Their first child was baptized on April 27, 1704, about three years after the village was founded.

Now this evidence is only circumstantial, of course, but it is sufficient to make one believe that unless Roy came with Cadillac, he did not come at all until the year 1702 or 1703. Detroit was a sort of neutral ground, not occupied by any Indians permanently, for it was above the lands of the Iroquois and below the lands occupied by the other Indian tribes with whom the Iroquois were then at war.

The other man who is supposed to have been here prior to Cadillac's time was Joseph Parent. Joseph Parent was the son of Pierre Parent, of Quebec, and was born at that place January 27, 1669. January 31, 1690, he married Madeleine Marette, at Beauport. He removed to Quebec where his first child, Joseph, was born, August 13, 1690. His second child, Marie Magdeleine, was born December 15, 1692; the third was Jean Baptiste, born 1694, '95, or '96; the fourth, Marguerite, born July 7, 1698; the fifth, Pierre, born about 1700; sixth, Marie Anne, born May 22, 1702; seventh, Gilbert, born December 3, 1703; eighth, Joseph Marie, born April 25, 1705. He then removed to Detroit where his ninth child was born, July 21, 1709.

If anything further was needed to show that he could not have lived in this country before the coming of Cadillac, we have a contract made by him on March 9, 1706, in which he agrees to go to Detroit, from Montreal, to work at his trade as master toolmaker and brewer, for three years.

I have thus shown conclusively, I think, that neither Roy nor Parent lived at or near the present location of Detroit in the year 1700, or before Cadillac came, but that Cadillac is, in fact, our first man.

Fr. Denissen wrote to Burton, Detroit, November 9, 1896, that

There is no account that any white man had his abode at the Detroit River previous to Cadillac. You proved satisfactorily that neither Peter Roy nor Joseph Parent could have been here before July of 1701. There is no ground for the belief that a Francis Peltier preceded Cadillac. It could not have been Francis Peltier, the son of Francis Peltier and Margaret Magdelene Morisseau, for he died in Lower Canada before 1698; his widow, Magdeline Thunay, dit Dufresne, married again at Montreal on the January 9, 1698, Peter Maillet. His son, John Francis Peltier, born at Sorel, Lower

Canada, August 15, 1691, came to Detroit with his stepfather's family about the year 1705-6, and married there March 25, 1718, Mary Louisa Robert.

Peter Roy married, probably in 1703, a Miami Indian, and took up his residence in the village of the Miamis, who had been induced by Cadillac to come and settle near Detroit.

(Burton, Cadillac)

December 10, 1702

M. de Lamothe received a letter dated July 18, 1702, from M. le chevalier de Callière who certified that the King had given the post of Detroit and Fort Frontenac to the Company of the Colony, and also wrote him to name this fort, Fort Pontchartrain.

On the 21st of July, M. de Lamothe left Fort Pontchartrain for Quebec where he signed a contract with the Company by which it agreed to provide subsistence for his family and to pay him 2,000 pounds per year. The contract was drawn up by Chambalon, notary of Quebec, and signed by M. de Callière, governor general, and Beauharnois, intendant. The same contract stipulates that the sieur de Tonti, captain, will also receive subsistence with his family and be paid 1303 pounds per year.

(Margry, MetD)

Cadillac writes to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702:

It seems to me that they scarcely concern themselves here in Quebec with Detroit; the trade concession that the King has granted exclusively to the Company of the Colony has crippled Detroit because this Company has done nothing to advance it and no one can exist in a land where there is no commerce.

M. de Lamothe arrives at Detroit on the 6th of November, 1702, to find all the Indians away on the hunt.

Detroit's Early Population

When he left Detroit on July 21, 1702, Cadillac says twenty acres of land had been cleared, and the Hurons had 200 acres ready for cultivation. Now, six years later, in 1708, there were in all 353 acres, of which Cadillac had 157, all cleared by Indians and soldiers; the settlers had cleared 46 acres and the Hurons 150 acres.

In 1701, nearly 6,000 Indians of different tribes wintered at Detroit, "as every one knows" and what is more, Cadillac fed them all. How he managed this is a mystery, for "everyone knew" that the provisions had all been consumed on the way, and that Tonti had to go to Michilimackinac and to Fort Frontenac to buy "some refreshments." In 1704, Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that there were more than 2,000 Indians at Detroit. What became of the other four thousand is not said. By 1708, the number had dwindled to 1,200. Of the original 6,000 Indians, 400 were able to bear arms. Cadillac does not explain how, with his army of Indians, he kept

Summer—Cadillac first exclusive rights to all trade have been given to the Colony.

July 21—Cadillac goes dispute the removal of chises from his hands; he ful, but receives some from the Company.

November 6—A frustrated turns to his duties at Det

Peace between the French permits opening of Montreal to Detroit—over and Erie, across the Niagara up the Detroit River. The increase in Detroit population Cadillac to extend the vi

asking for 200 soldiers; or, rather, it is clear that most of the original soldiers deserted or went back to Montreal; in 1704, there were only fourteen soldiers left.

As for the white settlers, the numbers vary greatly. In 1706, Cadillac wrote that there were 216 persons at Detroit; and in the following year, Riverin, a friend of Cadillac wrote from Paris that there were 270 persons, including twenty-five families. In 1708, the king writing to Vaudreuil and the two Raudots, said that there were 120 French houses *within* the fort; and a few months later, Cadillac asked that five or six hundred inhabitants and troops in proportion be sent to Detroit. All the above information originated in Detroit, but in this same year we have the testimony of an inspector, named [Clairambault] D'Aigremont, who tells a very different story. "The whole of the inhabitants of Detroit," writes D'Aigremont, "numbered sixty-three. They have taken land within the fort, and have built small houses of stakes plastered with mud and thatched with grass. Of these sixty-three inhabitants, only twenty-nine have taken land, for the other—except the officers, Rané, d'Argenteuil, and Figuier—are only at Detroit for trading purposes." And in a note, he added, "These twenty-nine ought not to be regarded as settlers, for they are married soldiers most of whom remain at Detroit perforce; they are still performing soldiers' duty and mount guard like the rest.

(Delanglez, "Cadillac")

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The following points are outlined, September 25, 1702, by Cadillac and Fr. Bouvart, Superior of the Jesuits of Canada, in an agreement made by Governor Callière:

1. The Jesuits and Cadillac will stop their complaining about each other.
2. The missionaries in Ottawa country will urge, rather than try to prevent, the Indians coming to settle in Detroit.
3. Fr. Marest of Michilimackinac will go to Detroit in the coming Spring to minister to the Indians there.
4. Fr. Garnier will also go to Detroit to minister to the Hurons.
5. The missionaries of the Ottawas' country will be under the orders of Cadillac who will act in behalf of the King. The right of appeal to the governor is reserved however.
6. Private quarrels between Cadillac and the missionaries shall be settled by the governor and not be directed to the Court.
7. All disputes between Cadillac and the missionaries shall be discussed on the spot; if settlement cannot be reached, the governor will provide binding arbitration.
8. This document will be communicated to all the missionaries of the Jesuits.
9. Cadillac will be responsible for abiding by the terms of this agreement.
10. Copies will remain with the governor general and with Fr. Bouvart.

A fire at the fort in 1703 destroys among other buildings, that of Ste. Anne, and with it the church records. A registry of births, deaths, and marriages from 1704 to 1744 of Ste. Anne's church contains some of the leaves from the first records with the following notice.

We, Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac, lord of the places of Danguet and Mount Desert, commander for the King at Fort Pontchartrain, certify that the present book contains thirteen sheets being the first registry of baptisms and interments

January 16, 1707
(signed) La Mothe Cadillac

Extract of letter from Cadillac to the governor, dated August 31, 1703.

You ask me to be friendly with the Jesuits and not to pain them. Having thought it well over, I have found but three ways of succeeding in that: the first is to let them do as they like; the second, to do everything they wish; the third, to say nothing about what they do

The charge of illicit trading has been refuted so often that it hardly seems worthwhile to refute it anew. The first direct accusation at this period is that of D'Auteuil, a hypochondriac who was against practically everybody in Canada. The Jesuits as tutors of the Indians had a concession at Sillery which had apparently not been ratified by the king. In a law suit which they won, D'Auteuil claims, these Fathers obtained from the Sovereign Council half the seignory of Duchesnay, one of their neighbors. Not only do they take real estate but movables also. For instance, they are engaged openly in trade in the Ottawa country, where under the pretext of supplying their personal needs, they made, last year, more than 16,000 livres not to speak of other trading operations.

Pontchartrain, unwilling to let this accusation pass, asked D'Auteuil for an explanation. He also wrote to Raudot, the new intendant, asking to investigate the matter. Some kind of an answer was sent by D'Auteuil in the following year. He was speaking, he said, of the trade in the Ottawa country,

which is public and against which everybody grumbles. Since it has been forbidden to trade in the woods, the Jesuits' canoes have been used by merchants and voyageurs to go to Michilimackinac where they trade heavily. Each year one sees these canoes come back loaded with beaver pelts. Can we believe that others than these Fathers themselves are trading, when it is forbidden to everyone else?

D'Auteuil's only proof of his charge is another question, which Pontchartrain could not answer. The true explanation was given by Raudot.

I have inquired, my Lord, as to what might have laid the Jesuit Fathers open to the suspicion of trading in beaver pelts, as they are accused of doing. What has given rise to the accusation is that they are obliged to make use of hired men to bring the canoes conveying their provisions as well as the other things they need for their mission. Notwithstanding

1703

Fire at Fort Pontchartrain destroys several buildings and records.

Cadillac claims that his lieutenant, Tonti, and the Jesuit fathers of Mackinac are planning to start a rival trading post at St. Joseph (Port Huron).

Cadillac charges Company clerks with illegal trading and punishes them. The clerks bring countercharges which result in Cadillac being called to Quebec. Cadillac is acquitted of the charge brought against him by action of the General of Canada, Claude de Ramezay.

ing all the precautions taken, these hired men cannot be prevented from taking goods on their own account, which they trade in for their own profit, and as they take such goods in the canoes belonging to these Fathers, people will have it that it is they who carry on this trade.

The real question of course was whether the Jesuits themselves were trading for profit . . . Vaudreuil and the two Raudots writing to the minister gave the following explanation.

The Jesuit Fathers, my Lord, never did carry on any trade in the Ottawa country and they must assuredly be exempt from such a suspicion; but the men who bring their provisions to the mission do trade. When the Jesuit Fathers told you that what had given rise to the rumor was that the men called Desruisseaux and Des Pins, unknown to them, brought merchandise, they should have said that it was with their permission; for the merchandise which they allow those who bring them needed supplies is a sort of payment for the canoes and their wages during the whole voyage. From the time of Messrs. Frontenac, Denonville and Callière, such has always been the custom here; those who bring the provisions for the missionaries, Jesuits and others, have always taken enough merchandise to pay for their voyage. We must observe here that what the king gives for these missions is not even sufficient for the keep of the missionaries, and they could never stand the expense if they had to pay the men, for there is not a canoe which does not cost them one hundred pistoles to bring to the mission.

This joint letter then goes on to explain the case of the two men mentioned by the Jesuits. It was not clear whether all beaver pelts had been acquired during the voyage. Des Pins had been paid for these pelts in letters of exchange, and it would ruin the merchants if these letters were protested; moreover, Des Pins had thought that what he did was permitted. As for Desruisseaux, there is no record of his having brought any pelts to Quebec. "Those who carried the provisions for the Priests of the Foreign Missions may have done the same as Des Pins and Desruisseaux, but they did not bring any beaver pelts, for their canoe capsized at Sault St. Louis; they lost everything and one man was drowned."

In the two following years, the king wrote that the carrying of merchandise to the missionaries, over and above their needs, must stop, but he made no suggestion as to how the voyage of the carriers was to be financed. Finally, [Clairambault] D'Aigremont, in his report of 1708, wrote that a large quantity of goods was being taken to Michilimackinac by the canoes bringing the provisions to the missionaries; the Jesuits had no share in the trading, for the merchandise belonged to the canoe men and this was done with the approval and under the authority of the governor general.

(Delanglez, "Cadillac")

The Canadian authorities write on October 18, 1705, that "it was necessary to submit to whatever sieur de Lamothe wished," in order to avoid further trouble.

1704

Daughter Marie-Thérèse is born to the Cadillacs; first child born in Detroit.

February 2—Marie-Thérèse baptized.

Embroided in trade and political squabbles, charges of plots and counter-plots, Cadillac is again forced to answer charges. He is acquitted but ordered not to return to Detroit. An appeal to Pontchartrain results in full exoneration.

June 17—The Crown repeats its intention to the governor general of wanting to maintain Detroit, while Cadillac reports to the Ministry on his conflict with Vaudreuil and Beauharnais.

July 1—Cadillac reports his arguments with the Jesuit missionaries to Raudot.

1705

September 28—Company of the Colony is forced to turn over its trading franchises in Detroit to Cadillac; he holds them for the next five years.

First Deeding of Land in Detroit

As early as 1704 the French Government authorized [Cadillac] to deed lands to the people, but it was not until 1707 that he knew that he was permitted to do so. At that date all, or nearly all, of the lots within the village were occupied with houses and a long tier of garden lots on the easterly side of the present Randolph street was used by the soldiers in the garrison. A good many farms along the line of the river, both above and below the post, were also occupied and cultivated by the French people.

Cadillac gave deeds of all these lands and lots to persons to whom he sold them. None of them was actually given away. They were sold upon conditions contained in the conveyance. These conditions were not all alike but were all of similar import. The deed to Michel Campau of a site of 53 feet on St. Antoine Street by 17 feet on Ste. Anne Street contained the provision that Campau should pay five livres and six denier annual rent and should pay the further sum of ten livres for the privilege of trading. This would make his annual tax about three dollars and ten cents. This tax was to be paid in skins, or in silver when there was coined money in the village. A livre was about twenty-five cents of our money; a denier was a small coin of different values at different times. At this time it was probably less than a sou or cent.

If the land owner wished to sell his lot he must obtain permission from the commandant who had the first privilege of buying, and if the sale was permitted, the seller had to pay a fine upon alienation. This fine was about one fourth of the value of the property. If it was paid promptly he was usually allowed to pay one-eighth of the entire purchase price.

There were some trades that could not be carried on without permission of the commandant, such as blacksmith, edge toolmaker, locksmith, armorer and brewer of beer. In order to obtain permission to engage in these trades a license had to be obtained from the commandant and a fee had to be paid for the privilege.

In some conveyances there was a condition that the vendee should join others in setting up a May pole before the house of the Commandant on the first of May in each year. Exemption from this condition could be purchased each year upon payment of three livres in money or skins. If the grantee of a piece of land did not improve it, it reverted to the government.

The first conveyances were made by Cadillac in 1707 and putting all the deeds together we are able to draw a plan of the little village as it was at that time. The picket line had been set back so that the village was about 720 feet long, extending from the present Griswold Street to Wayne Street and about 250 feet wide, extending from the present Jefferson Avenue nearly to Larned Street. Some of the old lot lines of 1707 can still be determined. The principal street was Ste. Anne Street and the smaller and less important streets were named St. Louis, St. Joachim, St. Antoine and St. Francis. There was also a Recontre Street or alley, and in later years a Campau alley. With the exception of Ste. Anne Street, which was about 18 or 20 feet wide, the streets were very narrow, not over ten feet in width. In front of the church the street was about 40 feet wide.

1706

Continued friction among Cadillac, merchants of Montreal, and the Jesuits. de Tonti removed from post on Cadillac's request. Sieur de Bourgmont replaces de Tonti for short period, January 29 to August of same year.

June 9—Order signed for Dauphin de la Forest to serve with Cadillac at Detroit.

Hurons, Ottawas, and Miamis camps at Detroit in sporadic fighting.

June 20—Cadillac in Quebec is ordered by Vaudreuil to return to Detroit to maintain peace among the Indians, not to trade outside the fort, and not to allow intermarriage with the Indians.

1707

November—Pontchartrain sends François Clairambault d'Aigremont to Detroit to investigate complaints that have reached him.

Cadillac made about 150 grants of land in the years 1707 and 1708. Of those that have been found there were sixty-eight deeds of village lots, thirty-one farms and thirteen gardens. There were a number of lots in the village that Cadillac retained for his own use. He owned the church, the warehouse, the wind mill and several other places. A description of one of his buildings will show the nature of them all:

A house of stakes in earth 33 1/2 feet long by 19 feet wide and 8 feet high, half of planks above, with joints in a good ridge and the rest of stakes, and below half of beams with square joints, half mortised and the other part of split stakes . . .

(Burton, *Building*)

1708

The second church of Ste. Anne is built.

The Church of Ste. Anne

The growing importance of Detroit justified a more fitting house of worship than the rude structure which had hitherto served that purpose, and in 1708 Cadillac began the construction of the first building in the settlement that deserved to be called a church. As usual he complained to the Court about the expense it caused him, and attempted to saddle its cost on the King. The answer to his petition gave him little comfort.

However, as His Majesty has decided that he will bear no expense on account of that settlement, it will be very necessary that you should in future undertake those which are indispensably necessary such as the maintenance of the almoner, that of the surgeon and of the medicines. It is not right that His Majesty should defray expenses at a place which is not to yield him any return.

The building of the fort, and that of the church are in the same category. It can be nobody but him who has the right to receive the profits of the country, who should be bound to do this building; and that must serve you as a rule in all that may concern this country in the future. You possess undoubtedly, the patronage of the church you are having built.

Fortunately, we have a brief description of the first real church in Detroit, and of its contents. When Cadillac learned that he had been transferred to Louisiana, he proceeded to safeguard his property rights in Detroit. An inventory of his personal property was drawn up and signed by Father Deniau on August 25, 1711. No mention is made in the document of the almoner's residence, but the item referring to the church reads as follows.

Also a building, used as a church, thirty-five feet long, twenty-four and a half feet wide, ten high; boarded entirely above, with oak joists in a good ridge, and below of beams with square joints with doors, window and shutters, and sash frames between of twenty squares each; the whole closing with a key. Also a heavy bell.

The inventory continues with a long itemized list of furnishings and accessories for divine worship, down to the last "6 hand towels, half worn." From it we might try to reconstruct the sanctuary of the primitive chapel. It boasts a green carpet, on which stands an altar "of French walnut-wood with steps . . . and a tabernacle closing with a key." Over the tabernacle is a turning box, draped with velveteen "with a fringe."

Usually it presents a "small crucifix of copper or brass" but on occasion it can be revolved to bring to the front "a monstrance of silver without a stand." On the altar stand large candlesticks of painted wood, to which are added on feast days "eight bunches of artificial flowers, old and worn" inserted presumably in "four pots of red wood." At one side stand "two small credence tables of French walnut-wood, closing with a small bolt," and behind the altar hangs "1 large picture of the blessed Virgin of gilded wood." Suspended from the ceiling to serve as sanctuary lamp is "1 lantern of tin."

From a census of Detroit drawn up in 1710 we learn another detail of the church erected in 1708. It is located within the palisade, and is constructed of logs "laid one on the other" as is the warehouse. These are the only buildings differing from the others; even the commandant's lodging is of the upright log type. The chapel, we are told, also serves as residence for the missionary.

The congregation that worships in this primitive log chapel is also revealed in the same document. Delorme, Langlois, Parent, Des Rochers, La Jeunesse, Malet, "are all married and have their wives and children at Detroit." St. Aubain, Lafleur, and De Lisle seem to be the only soldiers at the post, and their wives are with them. Vin Despaigne is a widower, and Chesne and St. Onge are virtually that, for after their names comes the comment: "Their wives will not go to Detroit." In addition to those already noted there are seven married couples in the post, four men whose wives have not accompanied them, and twelve "bachelors." If we add an undetermined number of children, probably fifteen to twenty, and a group of Indian converts increasing slowly in number since 1707, the picture of the little congregation is fairly complete.

(Paré, Church)

On March 25 the Jesuits are quoted as reporting that this officer[Cadillac] is audacious and aggressive; that he thinks his power unlimited; that he always acts without waiting for authority; and that he gives to understand that he is the master . . .

Report by the governor and his intendant, November 13, 1708.

There are only 63 households at Detroit instead of the 120 that sieur de Lamothe has reported to you. As for the savages, there are around 150 cabins instead of the 1200 sieur de Lamothe has mentioned. Of the 63 householders, 29 are married soldiers and the others are voyageurs of this region who have established themselves here. They go out every year and have houses in the fort only for trading purposes. Sieur de Lamothe is Detroit's largest landowner, alone holding 157 arpents of improved land while all the others together have only 46 arpents. There are three cows, six or seven steers or calves and one horse; it would not be to sieur de Lamothe's advantage if there were more because he could not rent out his horse at ten livres a day if there were more animals.

(Toujas, Destin)

Clairambault completes his investigation and files a report highly critical of Cadillac's administration of the post.

1709

The Court orders the troops stationed in Detroit to return to Montreal.

1710

May 6—Cadillac is promoted to the governorship of Louisiana, which effectively removes him from the entanglement of quarrels and charges in Detroit. Dauphin de la Forest is appointed to replace Cadillac at Detroit, but his health forces him to leave the post after a short time.

September—Renaud Dubuisson arrives in Detroit to replace Cadillac.

November 3—Cadillac receives orders to report to Louisiana to take up his new duties, but he delays setting off.

1711

June—Cadillac visits Quebec.

November—Cadillac goes to France, leaving his family in Detroit, to which he may have returned one more

Cadillac's removal from Detroit obscures his property rights at the post.

1712

Cadillac interests Antoine Crozat, wealthy financier, in the commercial potential of Louisiana.

September 14—Crozat obtains a trade monopoly in Louisiana to run for fifteen years.

October 24—Cadillac enters into formal partnership with Crozat in Louisiana enterprise.

1713

January—Cadillac sails for Louisiana.

June—Cadillac arrives near Mobile with family aboard frigate.

From a letter, the intendant Raudot to Pontchartrain.

If M. de Lamothe had been a different man than he is, and if it were possible to deal with him there would have been no dispute on either side. He had an order from you, my Lord, to assume this post and from the outset whatever he requested and was refused led him to charge that no one wanted him to succeed and that it was opposition to the settlement that he had orders to build. Nothing stops him. What opinion or regard can one have for a man who complains of something that he states in one of his letters to have been freely agreed upon.

(Toujas, *Destin*)

Detroit After Cadillac's Departure

We do not know just what change was made in the status of Father Deniau, but from the entries in the register it is evident that he remained [in Detroit] four years longer. This later period of his ministry was apparently not a happy one. He seems to have been attached to Cadillac, and when the latter was removed in 1710, the lack of his strong hand was felt, and a great deal of disorder appears to have crept in. The high hopes of Cadillac had not materialized, the settlers eked out a bare existence, and the rotting palisade was a symbol of the fate come upon a once possible rival to Montreal. In discouragement and dejection the missionary, perhaps reflecting the sentiments of his people, penned the following passage, with which we end the first ten years of our history.

In fact, Sir, Detroit is all in commotion, both within and without; order and subordination, whether spiritual or civil no longer exist, nor respect for authority, political or ecclesiastical. M. [Renaud] Dubuisson has had the fort cut into halves, has turned Madame (Cadillac) out and also the Church, and, consequently me with the six chief families here, namely deLorme, Parent, Mallet, Roy, Robert and Campos. I have forgotten the surgeon, who is not less necessary than the interpreter. It seems, from the bearing this M. Dubuisson adopts toward us, that he is infallible, invulnerable, and invincible. I do not say more on the subject, for if I were to tell you all, and sketch the portrait of Detroit for you as it is, it is terrible, it would affright you. As for me, I no longer live there. I languish and suffer there beyond everything that could be imagined, seeing its desolation and being unable to get away from it. Yet God be praised for all things, since nothing happens to us in this life but by the will of adorable Providence, and for our sanctification, when we do not oppose its designs. (Father Deniau to Cadillac, August 24, 1711)

(Paré Church)

The inventory of Detroit, taken at the time of Cadillac's departure on August 15, 1711, mentioned a fort of eight bastions, some houses, a magazine, diverse merchandise and supplies, a mill, thirty horned animals and a horse, all belonging to Cadillac; 400 arpents of cultivated land—double the area reported in 1708—plus the rents and quit-rents owed by the titular holders of 143 concessions.

(Toujas, *Destin*)